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ARAB AFRICA

with His Majesty King Husayn were Zayd al-Rifa'i, prime minister; and Staff Marshal Al-Sharif Zayd ibn Shakir, commander in chief of the Jordanian Armed Forces.

Israeli Effort To 'Obstruct' Missiles Protested
JN0509104188 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0950 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 5 Sep (WAKH)—Egyptian political sources have affirmed Egypt's absolute right—within the framework of its national sovereignty—to diversify its armament sources and not to submit to pressure from American and Israeli intelligence to prevent Egypt, Iraq, and Argentina from producing a surface-to-surface missile. In a statement to the Abu Dhabi-based AL-IT-TIHAD today, the Egyptian sources said Egypt protested to Tel Aviv because of the Israeli attempts to obstruct the Egyptian armament projects and because of Tel Aviv's employment of its special relations with Washington in this regard. The Israeli Mosad attempted to fabricate the story of the so-called smuggling of U.S. military technology to Egypt to draw the United States into Israeli plans to obstruct projects for modernizing Egyptian weapons and helping Arab countries to this effect.

The Egyptian sources added that Israel is trying to convince Washington to bargain with Egypt over the closure of the technology smuggling file in exchange for an Egyptian pledge to halt producing and developing surface-to-surface missile projects. This took place after Egypt's refusal to extradite an officer involved in this case so that he could testify in the United States.

In another development, Egyptian security sources denied a report in an Italian newspaper that the Israeli Mosad detonated a booby-trapped car in a Cairo street as a warning to Egypt not to continue with the project for producing surface-to-surface missiles. The Egyptian security sources said Egypt has not turned nor will it turn into a country that is open to the activities of the Mosad or others; it will also not turn into an easy morsel in the hands of world intelligence organs.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Address Marks Anniversaries
LD0109223088 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Speech by Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi on the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Libyan workers and the 19th anniversary of the Libyan revolution at a meeting attended by Libyan and foreign delegations in Green Square, Tripoli—live]

[Text] In the name of God. Brothers: We stand here today, the 4th day of marking the 19th anniversary of the revolution. The marking of this anniversary and the hailing of it began with the 11th meeting of the international revolutionary committees movement. We stressed

that the revolutionary committees movement has become an international movement. The opening of the 11th meeting of the revolutionary committees movement and the beginning of marking the 19th anniversary of the revolution were attended by members of the revolutionary committees movement from all over the world. This anniversary is being marked with us by symbolic units of the international revolutionary green guards, also from all over the world.

We said that analyses drawn from reality have shown that the only international revolutionary movement which assumes the task of urging the masses to seize power everywhere and establish the jamahiri system in accordance with the people's theory which rises over the rubble of the theory of government, is the international revolutionary committees movement. This movement differs from all the revolutionary movement in the history of mankind in that every revolutionary movement in the world had the objective of attaining power and exercising it on behalf of the masses—sometimes to their benefit and more often to their detriment.

As for the revolutionary committees movement, it is the contemporary international revolutionary movement which was the product of people's revolution and the initial foundation of the age of the masses. It is a movement whose objective is not to attain power but to enable the masses to attain power. There the movement of the revolutionary committees is responsible for changing the world to a system of the masses, by inciting the masses everywhere to seize power, resources, and weapons and to set up congresses and committees everywhere, and also to ensure the triumph of the people's theory of the masses over the ruins of the theory of government—the theory of tyranny and exploitation. The 19th anniversary of the revolution was commemorated after the 11th gathering of the international revolutionary committees movement by the huge women's rally in the People's Hall.

During this rally, new revolutionary measures were proposed, and these are to be considered a qualitative leap and a serious historic change in the life of the society—a bell which awakens the female force everywhere, to enable women to share power, politics, administration and defense with men and also the management of society's affairs.

For the first time in the world, women will have their own courts, their public prosecutor's offices, and their security centers. Women will also march on the secretariats of the people's congresses and the people's committees everywhere in the Jamahiriyyah, and the current courts and public prosecutor's offices, based only on men, will be shared by men and women. This is not aimed at discriminating between men and women; instead, this is a revolutionary action aimed at eliminating the discrimination which exists and which says that there are women on one side and men on the other.

In the society of the masses, there are human beings and citizens who have the authority, resources and weapons. The society of the masses is based on the masses, both males and females. These moves will bring about serious and profound social changes which will have far-reaching repercussions and reactions throughout the world, and they will be the start of a worldwide women's revolution led by women in the Jamahiriyah.

The celebrations marking the 19th anniversary of the revolution this time, as before and as it should be, are not done with words, banners, and slogans. They are taking place with new practical revolutionary theories that change the whole structure of society and which contribute to the opening up of the road before a world in crisis, a world living in a political, economic, and social crisis.

Measures were taken in Libyan territory at the 19th anniversary of the revolution, at the level of the revolutionary committees movement, at the level of women, and at the level of the traditional army and police. Now, practical steps will be taken that will cause fundamental changes in society, thus confirming the appearance of a new system in the world, the jamahiri system based on people's congresses and people's committees, in accordance with a people's theory whose guide is the Green Book.

Yesterday, on the third day of the revolution's commemoration, there was a military gathering of students from military academies and colleges. The abolition of the traditional army and the police was announced at that gathering. The people's congresses everywhere were urged to take the initiative in setting up local people's security so that there will be no vacuum, so that the local people's security may replace the police. The traditional army was transferred to the Jamahiri Guard, and it was announced that the armed people were set up for short-term national service, in the defense regions that will be commanded by people's defense committees and not by traditional military men.

Today our celebrations commemorating the 19th anniversary of the revolution are crowned with this great gathering of worker-producers. Today, the 19th anniversary of the revolution coincides with the silver jubilee of the workers, for the first time in history anywhere on the planet, passing from the state of wage-earners to that of partners. Given the importance of this change to the working class in the world, and to toilers and wage-earners everywhere, delegations have come from the previously mentioned international trade unions. Workers delegations from all parts of the world have come here to commemorate with us the silver jubilee of the freeing of the working class in a country of the international community, Libya, and their passing from the state of wage-earners to that of partners. We greet the international trade unions here with us today.

We salute the workers delegations from various of the world's countries and continents who are sitting alongside us on this platform now. Of course, in addition to this, we have with us those besides the workers delegations—brothers, our brothers, our blood brothers and brothers of the revolutions in the Arab homeland, Africa; other friendly states; official delegations who are attending. They all have our esteem and greeting and wishes for a return of this day which we celebrate; namely, the silver jubilee of the liberation of the workers in Libya. On Al-Fatih day in 1978, hundreds of thousands of workers marched on scores and hundreds of factories and places of production. In them they formed popular committees to run them, workers committees. They seized their share of production. From that day onward they should have been partners, not wage-earners.

For this reason, 1 May, which is celebrated by workers all over the world, has become meaningless to us. The real day regarded as the beginning of the workers liberation is Al-Fatih 1978. Consequently, 1 May has lost its meaning, particularly now that 1 May has become a day of charlatanry against the working class in the world; it has become a day of falsifying the will of workers everywhere. By taking this step and as a result of the rise of the partner system, moving up to the union of partners, the demands of the working class in the world should therefore not be for higher wages but for their share in production.

Until today, workers were being deceived. Their highest demand is an increase in wages. Brother workers in all parts of the world, federations and unions who are present here today, we say to you that the basic solution does not lie in demanding higher wages. The basic solution is to abolish wages. It is better, and it should be the final act. The workers should become partners in the factories and places of production where they work. The awakening of the working class should reach the extent of its grasping the nature of its production relationship with the other elements of the production process.

If the workers abandon the factories, then the biggest factories and the biggest companies in the world would cease production and become bankrupt. Now the initiative should be in the hands of the workers because they are the ones who produce everything that the world consumes. However, the profit from this production goes into employers' pockets. It would be stupid and ignorant for the workers of the world to ask for their wages to be increased; they should demand their share of production. Workers in the Jamahiriyah should agitate laborers everywhere to change their demands for wage increases into production sharing. Factories should be administered by popular committees of workers. In this way, brother workers from all over the world, the predicaments which face production would be resolved, as would the obdurate problems which govern the factors of production.

First, the problem of incentive would be completely resolved; the worker would automatically become amenable to work and to multiplying his efforts because he would become a partner, a partner in production. Workers who are partners in production do not go on strike. Those who strike, those who withhold their efforts, do so in return for wages—but the wages are only a part of workers' rights. The worker is entitled to demand the remainder of his hours of work which were undertaken with his own efforts and sweat, which the employer stole from him.

The revolution can only be accomplished when the workers control their own share of production. The capitalists and exploiters would not have been rich but for their theft of hours of workers' efforts. Marxism responded to this by taking private property and giving it to the government to manage on behalf of the people. This is another taboo. It was only a sedative for a certain period of time. But now, even this has begun to face opposition and crisis.

Workers should not be transferred from being wage-earners from the private sector to the public sector. They should not be slaves either to the state or to the private employer. There should not be any employer, either governmental or private. Workers should be liberated from private and public employers. The solution is not to transfer workers from being wage-earners employed by private individuals to being wage-earners employed by the government.

Is a worker sentenced to being a slave for ever, either to an exploitative feudalism or to a government? No. There is no justification for this permanent enslavement. Workers are called upon to revolt, and they have begun to revolt, in order to control factories and to manage them via popular committees of workers and to take over their share of production. They should be partners, not wage-earners. The slogan which is now raised is partners, partners, not wage-earners.

Brothers, we must not present just words and slogans, whether to ourselves or to the world. We are serious in changing the world by proposing theories backed by practical implementation. We are serious when we said that we wanted to establish peace, that peace must be based in the first place on the possibility of war's not breaking out, and not on nuclear terror.

The criminals are those who based peace on nuclear terror after World War II. This is terror and not peace. Mankind still lives in terror; it is not at peace. Peace is created by abolishing weapons, by the emergence of armed peoples who just defend themselves, who have no wish whatsoever to attack other peoples. Essentially, there is no enmity between one citizen and another citizen in the world, between one people and another people in the world.

For us to prove that we want peace, the traditional army has been abolished—an army to which orders are issued and which crosses borders. The armed people have been set up, which cannot be defeated on the one hand, and which, on the other hand, do not invade. Invaders are tyrants, the rulers, the leaders, the presidents. As for an ordinary citizen, he does not invade another ordinary citizen outside his borders.

When we speak about the building of the jamahiri society, freedom and equality, we do not simply stay prisoners of these words. We have already proposed serious theories on equality: The abolition of bosses, the abolition of contractors, the abolition of masters, the abolition of rulers. Libyans have become equal in the people's congresses and the people's committees, democratically and politically, because they have become equal in the street. There can be no citizen living in a house rented from another citizen, otherwise the owner of the house would be a master for the slave that rents the house from him. Nor must there be a citizen who is a wage-earner for another citizen, otherwise, the wage-earner would be a slave for the person hiring him. Humanity cannot be hired. We reject the idea that a human can be hired. You may hire a small boat for a sea cruise, you may hire a bike or a room in a tourist village, but where does the legislation originate that allows a man to hire a man? How can a human being be a wage-earner for somebody else? This is abolished. Partners, not wage-earners.

When we say that we are proposing practical solutions, so far we have been presenting more and more theories that strengthen jamahiri society, freedom and the humanness of man. They expose the falsehoods and lies practiced against the masses everywhere. We say that when we liberate a man from the exploitation of another man, we mean economic exploitation, that is, the previous economic foundations which were based on exploitation must be destroyed and society must be built on new jamahiri bases that ensure equality, eliminate the exploitation of man by man, eliminate bosses, and create a new economic structure that affirms social justice.

In addition to having changed from hired hands to partners, and having a house that is the property of its inhabitant, and land belonging to everyone, for all to exploit it by their own efforts to satisfy their needs without exploiting others, we will now begin to establish collective ownership. Ownership in Libya must not consist of individuals exploiting others, nor must it be ownership by public institutions.

I told you at the revolutionary meeting of the revolutionary committees movement that the previous stage is considered to be the official Jamahiriya, as the Marxist state in Russia was described as official communism, and this officialdom has continued up till now. We, the official Jamahiriya, must not continue. I told you that the institutions created by the people's congresses are still considered to be government institutions. I also said

that the revolutionaries will take practical steps to bring the masses face to face with their destiny and reality in order to adopt popular measures that will satisfy their demands and needs. The abolition of the conventional police was announced yesterday: it will be combined with the jamahiri guards. All points, streets, and towns will be without police, and the masses will have to ensure local people's security in an alternative way—the masses are organized in people's congresses and people's committees.

When the classical army is abolished, the masses will have to take up arms because they will feel responsible for their own defense; for they used to rely on an army which has disappeared and has been abolished. Consequently, there will be no reluctance to do national service, to take up arms and train in the use of arms, because the masses will have to take up arms out of fear for their freedom and their lives.

The institutions which the masses considered to be government institutions, although they set them up—we announce their abolition. Their abolition will begin by releasing lists from now on, so that the masses will find themselves facing a vacuum which was formerly filled by this institution; and the masses, organized in people's congresses and people's committees, at the instigation of and guidance by the revolutionary committees, will have to set up popular jamahiri channels to perform these tasks.

All export and import institutions, which import the largest part of peoples' needs, will be abolished. Why? Because these institutions are considered to be official; they have been criticized and they are accountable. This is a fact, and we rule ourselves, being open with ourselves and presenting the world with a new model that is devoid of falseness, trickery, and forgery. They will know that there are people who criticize everything, rule themselves, and speak freely in the open air.

I say that the popular organizations, which have been built by the masses up to this day, are regarded as government organizations. These organizations have been accused of being involved in favoritism and appointments by recommendation and graft; that they are bureaucratic and office-oriented, run by officials who care about nothing except their salaries and who pay no attention to meeting the citizens' needs. This is what exists. Therefore we as revolutionaries should begin by building the jamahiri society with the masses, and we should carry out our revolutionary task, our revolutionary task only; namely, abolishing (?or) withdrawing the (?licenses) of the organizations which do these things, and first they should begin with import and export organizations. If there has been a company or an organization engaged in exporting and concerned with the daily, weekly, monthly, or even the annual needs of the citizens, we should endeavor to (?draw attention to their mistakes). We must not on behalf of the masses take any

action. We must not, as revolutionaries, take the initiative and replace these companies. We should let the masses, which are organized in popular congresses, take the initiative.

If people stopped buying clothes—or no one went to the factories to collect them for distribution, or no one imported clothes from abroad, then people will start to think in every town, every municipality, every popular congress, and possibly in every street and probably in every profession and even in every family—they might start to think about how to import their needs or export their goods. They are free. Whos is criticizing or saying: Stop it. No. There is no one.

You and your representatives can export. That is, anyone who has something to export is free to do so. He can export it to Tunisia, to Algeria, Sudan, Chad, Niger, Malta, Egypt. The borders on our side are open. We have opened them between ourselves and all these fraternal states. These are all Arab, Islamic, and brotherly countries. Even if Malta is not Islamic, Malta was originally Arab; the Phoenicians were our forefathers. Today passports have been abolished between Libya and Malta. Maltese and Libyan citizens can move to and from each country with only a personal identity card, and no visa is needed. [cheers]

Suppose you have some produce from your farm or your workshop, or from the cooperative of which you are a member, or from the factory which you and the other partners with you have seized and have made your property today and tomorrow. Or you have some production from your animals, or if you have been writing books; any profession, any craft; there are no people who export them. You will be compelled to do so; the congresses will be compelled to create popular machinery that can gather these things in order to export them. Then the machinery would really be jamahiri and popular because it will have been created by the people. They will feel that it is they who created it, and they cannot criticize or blame it for anything. They know that these instruments were created by them and no one else. These instruments can be set up in every project; in every street. These are basic measures, and they require patience, courage, and self-confidence. If export and import will be delayed, it does not matter. The important thing is that the masses create these instruments.

Concerning goods which you import from outside, you have been saying that cars are expensive. Okay. As of now, Libyans will not import cars until you and Algeria—and I don't know which other Arab states will participate with you or other friendly states in building a car factory. The day the factory produces cars that meet our needs, local production will begin. But now, as we import thousands and thousands of cars, the company which imports the cars and our committee—the economic committee you formed for importing cars—you have been regarding it as government and involved in

favoritism and bribery and nepotism and thus an unsuitable instrument. It sold cars at high prices, took 1 or 2 years to deliver cars, brought in cars without spare parts, and mixed up all types of cars. It sold spare parts under the counter for its cronies and friends.

Let us suppose that all these accusations exist—although I am convinced that they do not exist, but let us suppose that they do. We will therefore have to revoke and abolish them. Then you Libyans will have to import your cars and your spare parts unaided, and you will have to know how to sell and distribute them.

If a car costs, let us say 1,000 dinars, and you sell it for 500 dinars here, you are free to do so. You are also free to sell it for 1,000 dinars. But now a car costing 1,000 dinars is sold to you for 3,000 dinars by the company. This is true, and it means that the company is not good. The policy which allows them to sell a car costing 1,000 dinars for 2,000 or 3,000 is an economic policy in the interest of society as a whole. But the ordinary citizen who does not understand this will think it is against him.

Let us also suppose that this policy is not fair, although I am convinced that it is a 100 percent sound economic policy. Why do those who have the money and buy cars on the black market for 12,000 dinars not buy a car for 4,000 now? They know that it is a used car which has been sold from one person to another until it reaches 12,000 or 15,000. As long as you have the money, why should I sell you a car for 1,000? I sell it for 3,000 and who do you think will take the 2,000? The people's committee of the company? Me? Who do you think will take it?

It will be taken by your bank, your budget, and they will use it to build hospitals and roads for you, and for education and also to buy other cars for you.

Who do you think buys the cars? Well, buy them with your money; save money and buy cars with it. Who will you ask to buy your cars? There is nobody to buy your cars. From now on, the masses will be deliberately involved in authority by the revolutionary movement.

This will apply to everything: the factories which you have now taken possession of and the new collective ownership. It will be for you to work out how to dispose of their production. Nobody will be allowed to come and buy products from you and tell you: I will give you discounts somewhere else. It is for you to sort it out. The peasants who want to sell their produce are free to do so.

The company for the distribution of agricultural products, or whatever it is called, will be revoked, because it is incapable of buying the peasants' produce—when it does buy the produce, it rots and is thrown into the sea. This maintains the price for the peasants while people are desperate for the produce. Why? Because the employees who earn a salary are not interested in production.

What a pity the produce has rotted—I know that this is what every individual says. All these things can be ideal: a company buys all the produce and sells it to the people, but it has not happened.

Let us suppose that all the faults lie with the company for the distribution of agricultural products; this company will then have to be abolished, and the peasants will have to make arrangements. Let them set up private company, cooperatives, committees, or a rotation system. Let them sell their produce on the domestic market or abroad. They are free to do so. You can import and export in complete freedom, and you can leave the country and come back without any permission, without a visa, in complete freedom. You can govern your country as you wish, in complete freedom.

Moreover, there is another extremely important move which changes the economic structure. Libyans should manage their country's production and service establishments on the basis of equality—the system of partners, not wage-earners. Consequently, from now on, if any group wants to form a partnership to build houses—partners without an employer and workers—if tomorrow they want to form a company or to form an establishment, they are free to do so.

If they want to build roads, they are free to do so; even if a group of Libyan technicians says we would undertake to maintain a road from such and such a place to such and such a place—the road between Ghat and Sebha to be taken by a group of Libyans. One hundred Libyans, 300 Libyans, 500 Libyans—they say our task is to maintain this road so that it does not deteriorate quickly. A main road, everyone ruins it; we do not want it to be ruined quickly. We want it to be maintained. Who is going to maintain it? If a company maintains it, you will say this is an official company, as if it were a government company, even though we do not have a government in this country.

Perhaps a company is made up of civil servants and consequently will not take due care of our roads. Good; a group of technicians will come and say: we will maintain the roads, the road from Ghat to Ubari, for instance, or from Ubari to Sebha, for a period of 10 years. Good; this is a group of Libyans who have found an opportunity to work. It has undertaken to maintain the road, and it obtains an income from the road which it distributes among itself. Set up restaurants by the road that belongs to you; set up cafes by the road that belong to you; set up rest places by the road belonging to this group; set up toll gates by the road where people pay tolls as their contribution toward road maintenance of the road—tolls that flow back to you. Take an income from this road and maintain the road.

Indeed, these roads have made Libya number 10 in the world—Libya is the 10th country in the world as far as roads are concerned. The desert has been covered with giant roads. These giant roads in which you have

invested thousands upon thousands or millions of dinars—if you do not maintain them, you will shortly lose them. Their maintenance; who is going to maintain them? If there are Libyans who want to undertake to maintain these roads, that would be permissible work. It does not contain exploitation.

If Libyans want to build roads—some say they want to build a road between Waddan and al-Fuqaha. Fifty Libyans, 100 Libyans, 10, 20, come and say: We want to set up a company or an establishment or a project with which to build this road. They build this road, and they share its revenue among themselves in the way of partners, not wage-earners. Without an employer. I mean the system of partnerships should spread to everything. Partnerships for export, all right; partnerships for import, all right; partnerships for construction, for all sorts of buildings; partnership in agriculture, in manufacturing.

Factories should not belong to a public body, except those factories which Libyans as groups, as administrators, are incapable of running. For instance, a petrochemical complex, an iron and steel complex, a chemical complex. If, at this stage at least, we are incapable of running one of these as a collective property, then it could be managed by the public sector, as a property of all Libyans. But all factories and projects which Libyans could manage through partnerships should be managed, and their ownership should be given to them. As 100 Libyans come, they will own the factory; workers in the factory own the factory.

If there is a big plant, bigger than what those working in it can afford, then any Libyan from any part of the Jamahiriyah can become a partner in such a plant, by his work or by his money, in an equal manner. A person cannot buy 1,000 shares while another buys 100 shares. In this case we would create inequality that leads to inequality of incomes, thus making one person rich and another poor. If there are 100 shares, there should be 100 shareholders.

Henceforth, all property, services, and production are offered to partners. All Libyans should divide themselves among services and production and become the owners and managers of these services and production. We may have to withdraw the companies that manage these facilities which will remain in existence and then have you go and manage them. For example, concerning a beverage manufacturing plant which supplies Tripoli, I say to you: Come and become its owners. If you do not become its owners, we will cancel and abolish the company operating it, and the plant would stay closed. If you want beverages, then go become the owners of the plant and operate it.

If raw materials come from abroad, find your own way, go to markets abroad, and buy raw materials. The organs that emerge as a result of this are precisely the people's organs that I mean. This is people's power. The real

people's committee is the one that is set up for dealing with a precise need. It is set up by the masses at local level, and the masses charge it with a task. It will then be a genuine people's committee.

Currently there are people's committees, companies, and establishments that citizens regard as government-controlled, despite the fact that they know that there is no government. The General People's Congress, the highest administrative quarter, is elected by the grassroots, by the people's congresses.

Just as we are withdrawing the police and the army, we are going to withdraw the rest of the institutions so that the people may be faced by a fait accompli. Find your own way, set up your own institutions. Do not expect any more from any quarter. Do not say: Where is such a company? Why has it not done this or this? Or, where is such a secretariat? We are going to begin gradually withdrawing even the secretariats, so that people's committees of your own making may replace them.

This would be done for the second time. In the previous stage, there was the official Jamahiriyah. Let us call it so out of dialectic. And now the people's Jamahiriyah will be set up, which will become a model for the world. We then would want the world to come and see. He who wants to make a study would come, and the world's universities and the world's workers would come to Libya and see the new economic order, the order of partners, not wage-earners. They would see how people's power is set up, with congresses and committees everywhere.

I want to speak to the brother workers in the world and laud the 75th session of the ILO and the report presented by the director general at this session, the 75th session for 1988. The brother international trade unionists are living this subject and understand it. The report was devoted to human rights. He devoted his report to speaking about human rights, social security, unemployment, and so on.

We now declare, in the presence of workers from all over the world, that the first sacred right of man is his effort, the sweat of his brow. Currently this effort and sweat are being stolen and usurped from him.

The United States brags about defending human rights, and we laugh about these trivialities. The United States, the capitalist country bent on exploitation, which starves millions and sucks their blood, stealing the sweat of their brow and their efforts for the benefit of a handful of capitalists, speaks about defending human rights! This country cannot speak at all about humanity, because it is a bitter enemy of mankind, and because it is the first blatant violator of human rights. The sacred right of man is the sweat of his brow, his effort. And his effort is completely stolen in the United States and all the capitalist and exploitation-bent states.

How can one talk about the rights of man if his effort is stolen; your effort, the sweat of your brow stolen. How can one talk about any other right? What other right? The right to publish a newspaper? My effort is stolen from me. I am hungry, unemployed, sitting on the curb. Do I need only to publish a newspaper? The right of expression. Well, if I say: I am wronged, exploited, my effort is stolen, the sweat of my brow is stolen, my blood is being sucked. That is it. They would say: this is human rights; here you are, you have expressed what you want!

Let me expose the big lies in the United States and the corrupt society that has caused the economic crisis that has brought the poor peoples to their knees!

Third World peoples have been affected, destroyed as a result of the exploitative policy pursued by the United States in the world. It is the U.S. dollar that has brought people to their knees; capital speculation [word indistinct] production, currency counterfeiting and sucking the workers' blood—and no one speaks—[The United States] shamelessly believes the world to be a child and stupid, unable to expose it. What is this talk about human rights?

My brothers, the United States is a criminal state, blamed by all of humanity for squandering and scorning human rights. A human being has a sacred right to his effort, your effort. Your effort is stolen from you in the capitalist exploitative system. What are other human rights? The United States says: The right of self-expression. All right, I express myself by saying that they have stolen my effort. To hell with it, that is it - I have expressed it. Now I can walk up and down the pavement. This is human rights. This is mockery.

Thanks to the Egyptian people; I am grateful. [sentence as heard] Brother trade unionists and leaders of international unions who are here with us today on this platform, we must emerge from this silver jubilee and this historic day with a result that will affect the lives of the world's workers. First is to demand partnership in production and not a rise in wages. Workers must turn into partners, not hired hands. Second, I regret very much that the report by the director of the International Labor Bureau, submitted to the 75th session of the ILO's conference in 1988, mentions human rights in a conventional, classical way, and includes imploring and begging governments on behalf of workers.

What we should have—and must stress now—are human rights first to his efforts and second to self-determination. These are the fundamental rights. Therefore, for human rights to be reinstated in the United States and all exploitative capitalist countries, workers have to become partners; the right to their efforts must be reinstated. This is your sacred right, to your effort. However, if these countries continue to steal the workers' efforts, and if what they produce is in return for a wage which equals only one part of their effort and hours of work, then this is a blatant and serious violation of human rights.

Second, a fundamental human right is self-determination. A human being who does not exercise self-determination does not enjoy his right to live. Those who are ruled by a party, by a government ruled by a party which is ruled by a front and in turn ruled by a president, do not enjoy their fundamental right. The second political part is self-determination and the first economic part is a human being's effort; it must belong to him. How can you be ruled by someone else and say that you enjoy your rights? Human rights are, we declare, human efforts and human self-determination.

Unless people's conferences and committees are set up and the masses everywhere determine their own destiny, their rights will be usurped and man will have been deprived of his will. This is a basic right. As for all other things, they are lies, falsification, and cover-up of the historic usurpation.

The right to correspond: He is so poor that he had nothing with which to write a message or to buy a stamp. They say that human rights include the right to correspond—this is a settled matter, let him correspond with the devil—who will prevent him? These matters concern him, and there is no need for you to confirm or talk about it, and you deserve no credit for it. The secrecy of telephone calls—what about those who have no telephone—three-quarters of the world has no telephone, because their efforts are being usurped.

Look, by God, they say that human rights are the secrecy of telephone calls, the right to correspond, the right of assembly, expression, and to strike. This means if he is wronged, he goes on strike. Well, this means that we wrong him, but he has the right to strike against injustice. He can strike as long as he wishes, and when he feels hungry, he can either return to work or die.

In Britain the miners went on strike, demanding wage increases. They should have taken control of the mines and should take their share of production. They were dismissed from their jobs, and their children died of hunger. And when they came to bury them, the municipality refused to bury them. It told them: You have no money in order to buy a burial plot, because burial in Britain costs money. If you want a grave, you pay for it. The children of workers who were sacked and had no money died from hunger, but the workers were not given land to bury them in. The Union of Libyan Producers contacted this union and gave assistance in order to bury their children. We paid for their graves in English cemeteries. In other words, the Libyan workers contributed to their cost.

Imagine! See the violation of human rights! See the barbarism and decadence! And we find it strange that they attack us with their planes while we are asleep, killing our children. They are barbarians! They are very backward! They only knew colonialism. They knew how to conduct World War I and World War II, the Crusades,

how to starve the world and spread disease and germs in it. They make the chemicals which kill people and export to us their germs and insects.

They know nothing else, because they have not yet reached the level of civilization. They are backward. This is social backwardness as a result of a cold environment. This is what their scientists say. Not that they are not human beings, no, they have not attained the stage which we have reached. We are proud that we are civilized and that we paid the cost to bury the sons of British workers, because their country prevented their burial.

In France, 40 families died in their homes, because they could not pay their gas bills. The gas company cut off their supplies. So they died, and it was announced that they died of cold. Indeed they died of the cold, but what cold? After they failed to pay the price of the gas, the company cut off their supplies. If you have money, pay and you get gas. If you have no money, die. So they died. See! And we find it strange that they colonized Mayotte, La Reunion, Caledonia, and Guyana. We say, how did they colonize those countries? Those countries are not theirs. How can they annex African and Asian countries to France? This is their point of view, imagine! This is backwardness! They colonized Algeria and said it was part of France. See the mistake! They crossed the sea and said that it was part of France.

The Italians crossed the sea to Libya and said it was the fourth shore of Rome. See this nonsense? Brothers, this is a backward mentality. I confirm to you that this mentality has not reached the stage attained by the civilized man that we have. Why do we resist, revolt, protest, and cry against this injustice, invasion, and tyranny? Because we find these policies strange. Because we live at the stage of the civilized man.

It is true that we are poor, and perhaps we cannot read and write, but civilization and social and mental progress are different from those things.

The spider is a creature which makes a home which a human being cannot make. The bee makes hexagons which a human being cannot make. Yet they are creatures. But they make the electron [as heard] and reach the moon, yet like the spider, they cannot become human beings even if they reach the moon or Mars. Therefore you should not be surprised by those who colonized and enslaved the world, manufactured the bombs, and destroyed this city or that because they are barbarians [barbar], and yet they called us barbarians. When we resisted them, they called us barbarians. Our ancestors who migrated before the advent of Islam and colonized North Africa in the Atlas or Nufuss Mountains, and in Tizi Ouzou [Algeria] were reviled by them and told that they were barbarians. Why? Because they were resisting

Roman colonialism. Roman colonialism came to this country. We fought it, and they said: You are barbarians. The barbarians are those who cross the sea and destroy people.

Are these human rights? Someone is dying of cold because the company has cut off his gas. Another dies, and there is no place for him to be buried. I am addressing these words to the workers in the entire world and to the trade unionists present with us today who come from European countries. Therefore, we refuse deceit, and since we belong to the ILO and to the ILO Conference, we will put forward these serious ideas which will bring about fundamental changes in the life of the working class.

Deceit and falsification against human beings must end, and their rights must be restored. We also take pride in saying that this is historic revolution. The entire world has the right to celebrate it. The workers and the masses also have the right to celebrate, defend, and support it on all the world's continents because this revolution is changing the world. It is creating the era of the masses, and it is restoring man's lost human character. This revolution first appeared on the land of the Jamahiriyah. The Libyans have to create the model which we will not be afraid to let anybody come and assess from anywhere in the world. The model should be impeccable. This[Al-Qadhafi interrupted by chanting of revolutionary slogans]

I am also addressing these words to the trade unionists and the union leaders from the ILO, the regional federations and trade unions, and the other international trade unions as well, in view of the fact that it is the working class which has suffered from the economic policies produced by exploitation. Dear brothers, you must pay attention to important key economic issues, and the fight must be directed against them by the working class everywhere in the world in order to produce an effect on the governments which still exist. Until the masses replace those governments, the U.S. dollar must be combated because the dollar has caused catastrophe and disaster for all peoples.

We must also bear in mind the barter system. One of the simplest problems arises when the Libyans go freely and without visas to their other country, Tunisia or Algeria. There, they will be confronted with a problem because the Libyan dinar and the Tunisian or Algerian dinar have very different purchasing powers. The solution, which is now difficult to reach, would be to create a single currency, quickly. It is possible, but not at present. Barter will resolve these problems, and barter will kill the U.S. dollar, which is manipulating everything and which has deprived everything of its value.

We advocate the barter system strongly in Libya, between Libya and Tunisia, between Libya and Algeria, between Libya and Sudan, between Libya and Chad, between Libya and Niger, between Libya and Malta, and

in the whole world, in order to fight this accursed thing called the U.S. dollar. Since the world adopted it as a standard, the Americans have begun to manipulate everything priced by the U.S. dollar: They raise its price, drop its price, and float it as they wish. We should not continue to be always at the mercy of the U.S. dollar.

Consequently, the Libyans should prepare themselves for the barter system: If you want to buy flour and have wool, take wool and give flour; how much wool and flour does this involve?

You reach an understanding, even without a currency unit. If you want to buy oil from Tunisia, Tunisia buys chemicals from you. Take chemicals, and give oil in return. If you want to buy dates from Algeria, take wheat from Libya and go to Ouerghla. They will give dates, and you will give them wheat. After this I am not interested in the Algerian currency, the Libyan currency, or the dollar. To hell with all of them!

Brothers, you now know that speculation has become very dangerous and has exhausted the livelihood of millions. Capital speculation—there are no longer dealings in and exchange of production; instead, there is speculation in capital. You invest \$1 and it becomes \$5, and you think how to make 10, 20, and so on. The whole world is following this course. It has abandoned production, and consequently, an ILO report predicts that before the year 2000 there will be 1 billion poor people in the world with nothing to eat. That is, one in every four will die of hunger. And if this situation continues, this ratio will increase, because of the speculation in capital, not production. In other words, you do not say how much wheat you produced and sold, and increased wheat production in order to increase your income. No, you take a dinar and invest it: How much does it yield? Money does not procreate, this means withdrawing purchasing power from other poor people.

The United States, Europe, Japan, the industrialized nations, individuals, the multinationals, banks—they all have no other trade than capital speculation and the exportation of capital. Production has been abandoned. Here I draw your attention—you Libyans and the majority of those in front of me are workers, producers—to this danger. Do not count how much money you have; count how much you produce. One night will come, and money will be abolished the following day. [Words indistinct] I told you several times; nudge your memory and you will remember what I told you so. It happened once before, and I told you that if you are hoarding money under your pillows, a day will come when you will not find anyone who will take it from you.

Indeed, one [words indistinct] the currency was changed and he was late in changing it, so he went round trying to find someone who would change it for him. He went mad. I told you before, the money you hoard under your pillow is useless. You should hoard a sack of flour: You plowed the land, harvested the wheat, threshed it and

milled it—not a sack of paper. And I still say to you: Do not rely on the money in your pockets or your wages; rely on the production of your efforts. Go and run farms, rear animals, run workshops, practice a profession or a skill. Money might be totally abolished. If you go and run after money, take a million to a bank and the bank will tell there is no longer a currency. You come running with money but it is no longer acceptable, like the currency of the cavemen who presented their currency, only to be told that it was no longer in circulation.

So turn to production: If you have any flour, wheat, barley, wool, leather, spare parts, industrial or agricultural raw materials, if you have these things, come and take cloth, tea, rice, oil, anything. But if you have money, do not come to me. I tell you this; everyone should write it down. If anyone does not have paper, let him write it on his hand and copy it in his diary when he gets home: Do not rely on your salaries or money. If any time you have money, go quickly and turn it into farms, or use it to rear animals or build workshops—learn and teach your sons, quickly, before it is too late!

I do not trick you, and I do not mislead you, because I do not want anything from you. The trend that may appear strange to the prevailing culture is the trend to set up a bourgeois society. Yes. We declare that we are going to set up a bourgeois-type jamahiri state. This is our objective. I announce it now, and it must be clear. This means a state where citizens live prosperously, in a bourgeois manner, where they are not toilers forever.

Those who are against the bourgeoisie and a bourgeois-type state and this prosperous life are those who want to continuously exploit the efforts of workers, and to realize from their efforts other diabolic programs—rearmament, space programs, and so forth. Therefore, they resist and fight the setting up of a bourgeois-type state, and are opposed to the bourgeoisie. We would be against this type of citizen if he improved his status by the sweat of others. If it is from his own sweat, then he is free. Let him become bourgeois; it is not forbidden. Do not say: Why have I built a house, why have I bought a car, why do I wear silk? You are free. As long as it is done by your own effort and sweat, you have not caused damage to your country. You may take your resources and sell them for hard currency, which you would take abroad. Then you would cause damage to the country's assets. You are free. You are free to live a bourgeois-type life from your own sweat.

On the 10th anniversary of the workers revolution we declare their passing from the state of being wage-earners to partners. We are diligently working to set up a bourgeois-type jamahiri state, a bourgeois-type society. We are not different from those who are combating this trend and this slogan; they want to further suck the blood and exploit the effort and sweat of the working class. For them the working class is supposed to toil all the time, without having the possibility of emerging as an ivory tower society.

We should be proud to enter into a bourgeois system, to set up a bourgeois-type state. Each one of you must strive to become bourgeois by his own effort. Do not be afraid or ashamed of this, of what they call bourgeoisie. It is in fact an Arabic word: Burj 'aji. In Europe they cannot pronounce the 'a sound so they have changed the word to bourgeois, bourgeoisie. Yes, let each of you strive to become bourgeois.

With this revolutionary meaning everyone will think themselves mistaken. You will say: We used to fight this slogan because it meant condemning the working class to remaining poor, and therefore we cannot speak of bourgeoisie. As far as we are concerned, we are going to set up a bourgeois-type jamahiri state, a bourgeois society where prosperity and production for every citizen without exploitation prevails; where a citizen, with his own effort, becomes bourgeois. All Libyans are called upon to become bourgeois. Do not be afraid or ashamed. Become bourgeois. Not by robbery, or by the efforts of others, by [word indistinct], by irregular dealing in hard currency—no, by production. Produce, and become bourgeois. Create a farm, breed sheep and be their shepherd. Set up a cooperative. Become rich. That is all right.

We would not then be afraid of being called bourgeois—a type we used to combat, for they would steal the fruits of our labor, build palaces, and buy luxury cars and houses. We used to fight him not because he was bourgeois, but because he used to steal our money to live in his ivory tower. The accusation is not against the ivory tower, but against the price—the money acquired to build an ivory tower. Ivory in itself—is there anyone among us against ivory—we all like ivory. But if you own an ivory tower as a result of your exploitation of me, then I would insult you. I would say to you: You the ivory tower, you have stolen the ivory from me. You have exploited me to obtain your ivory.

We do not insult ivory for its own sake. We do not hate silk. There is silk even in paradise, where clothes are in silk. There are silk clothes in paradise. Who hates silk? I hate the way you acquire silk and wear it, while I wear woolen clothes. We insult the way you acquired the silk, not the silk itself. Wear silk from your own efforts. You are free to do so. I would be proud before the world if all Libyans wore silk. This would be real prosperity, real progress, a triumph over backwardness, poverty, and need. Why should we remain always in need?

I say to you: Do not rely on money. Rely on production. Bring wheat, and with it buy silk. Bring wheat, and with it buy a luxury car. Manufacture something and barter it for clothes, a vehicle, a house, luxury food eaten by the bourgeois. They eat this type of food undeservedly.

They exploit the efforts of others. We are always afraid of the bourgeoisie. There are two types. I fought the bourgeoisie because there was a bourgeoisie which lived at the expense of our efforts. It took the wealth of our country. The United States has 400 families who own the

country's wealth. Every 100,000 Americans are exploited by 1 family. The United States has a population of over 200 million—its wealth is owned by only 400. The rest of the Americans are all poor. They live on the crumbs of these 400 families. They serve these 400 families. These are U.S. statistics, namely, the United States has 400 rich families. Subsequently, every 500,000 Americans are at the mercy of one of these families. These families are the ones who make the artificial satellites. One family makes Lockheed aircraft, like the Hercules; another family makes the rockets which launch the space satellites; another owns the banks; one family makes military aircraft; one family makes ships; one family makes medicines; one family monopolizes coffee; one family has a monopoly on wheat; one family has a monopoly on milk.

This place called the United States is the property of 400 families. A rich family employs 500,000 people. If a company is owned by 1 family, 500,000 Americans are poor. It means that every rich family is opposed by 500,000 poor Americans. Such a family is rich because it is counterbalanced by 500,000 poor.

Let us compare the wealth of the Soviet Union or the socialist countries. They are probably poor, but at least there are no rich people; their wealth is divided equally among the people. The car which is made in the Soviet Union is not like the Mercedes or the U.S. Cadillac. This is because the rest of the money is distributed among the people, while the person who owns a Mercedes has the share of 500,000 persons. So he was able to make the Mercedes as a luxury car. How many poor persons are there for every Mercedes? For every Cadillac there are so many poor persons. The Cadillac manufacturer cannot make 1 Cadillac except when there are 500,000 poor Americans. All their wealth and effort are taken by him so that he can make the Cadillac. An ignorant person comes along and says: Look at the United States, how nice their Cadillacs are. That Cadillac is made with the blood, sweat and effort of hundreds of thousands of deprived workers. If these workers' gas supplies are cut, they die. When they die, there is no one to bury them. The miners [as heard] are robbed of their efforts.

What about Britain, the rich in Britain? They make planes, cars, and major products. People ask: Where is this from? They say: This is from Britain, from the United States, France. This is because the wealth of the entire country is in the hands of a very small section, and this small section is the one which makes all the goods that make a profit in the world. Who does not like the Mercedes, and who does not sing the praises of the Mercedes? The maker of the Mercedes fleeced the poor people so that he could make the Mercedes. The workers at the Mercedes factory did not stage a revolution or seize their share of the production, but they made demands for increased wages. This is what I was talking about; namely that wages should be abolished. We have been inciting workers from all parts of the world—who are with us here today—to do this.

We were against the bourgeois who exploit our labor and sweat in order to produce such things. Others are against the bourgeois for other reasons. They constantly exploit the efforts of others, the efforts of workers for other programs—space, atoms, nuclear arms, programs, and so forth. Consequently it is not possible to arrive at a bourgeois state.

Our theory is a new one. We are making a new world, A new model society. This society should be jamahiri and bourgeois. This bourgeoisie which is being set up in the Jamahiriya is built on lawful effort, without the exploitation of man by fellow man. This is the solution that will impose itself.

The world around us—capitalist and socialist—has begun to reexamine our economic and social system. It has unconsciously started to move toward the jamahiri and Green Book systems.

Even if he does not read the Green Book, he will still begin to move toward this inevitable solution. This is particularly so because the communist analysis says: See the workers who have come from international unions. The struggle of the social classes against exploitation and injustice has been within the framework of changing one form of private ownership, one form of exploitation—the exploitation of man by man. Built on the rubble of the master-slave society was the feudalist-serf society. The capitalist-worker society was built on the rubble of the feudalist-serf society. All forms of social struggle have only changed the form of social exploitation. They were not capable of eliminating the exploitation of man by man. This is now said arbitrarily about socialism. No, the situation continues. This means that no form of social struggle has been able to eliminate the exploitation of man by man in this manner.

How can this end? It will not be ended by turning the workers into employees hired by the state. It is self-perpetuating; masters and slaves, feudalists and serfs, capitalists and wage earners, and wage earners and government. The story has not ended. It continues. What is the solution? What is it that is escaping us? We do not understand. [Word indistinct] solution. No, it will be resolved by the jamahiri system. It will be resolved by the establishment of the wage earners' society. [as heard]

It is fortunate that the Soviet Union has now realized this fact and is implementing a serious historical law which constitutes a turning point in the largest part of the world and changes the structure of the most [word indistinct] anticapitalist theory in the world. It is the law of cooperatives. The law of cooperatives means the system of partners. It means cooperatives. This is where the solution begins. Talk on the authority of the people has begun—not the authority of the party. Thinking about nuclear disarmament and destroying nuclear weapons has begun, because peace cannot be achieved

with nuclear terror; it can be achieved with the establishment of armed peoples, the disappearance of governments, armies, apparatuses, parties, and parliaments—these are all instruments of evil.

We call on all workers from all parts of the world who come to Libya to become partners, not wage earners. It is forbidden for a Libyan to engage the services of a foreign worker as a wage earner. This would harm the basis of the jamahiri society, which we take as a model. Any Libyan who employs a foreign worker as a wage earner is a traitor to the jamahiri system, distorts the reputation of the Jamahiriya, and damages a historical action in which we take pride before the whole world. All foreign workers in Libya must be partners, like Libyans.

More urgently, on the 10th anniversary of Workers Day, we call on workers to change from wage earners into partners—Tunisians, Algerians, and Moroccans in France, Belgium, and throughout Europe who are suffering from oppression and exploitation, against whom racial discrimination is practiced, even to the extent of physical liquidation.

How many Arab workers have been exploited by European racists? I call upon them to come to the land of freedom, the land of partners, not of wage earners, to their country, and to build the Jamahiriya with their brothers. I tell them: When you come to the Jamahiriya, you can enter Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco with ease. Today, celebrations were held along the artificial borders between Libya and Algeria, at Algeria's initiative. The border has been abolished and citizens have become free to move between the two countries with an identity card, but without a visa or a passport. This is the completion of efforts currently in progress between Libya and Tunisia to remove the artificial borders which were erected by the Turks, the French, and the Italian colonialists, who insidiously and aggressively divided the one people and the one homeland into two people and two countries. It completes work currently in progress between Tunisia and Libya for people's movements with an identity card, but without a visa.

The worker who has come from Algeria today [words indistinct] identity card, pending the issuance of a common identity card to the Arab Maghreb and for the entire Arab homeland, paves the way for the giant unitary work which we would now like to declare to be [words indistinct]. The honor for this goes to the decisive changes that have occurred in the region. The first of these is the high awareness and supreme consciousness of the leaders of the Algerian revolution for the importance of achieving Arab unity before 1992. Second, the 7 November movement, led by Brother Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and Habib Ammar, and their brothers in Tunisia, who removed an obstacle to Arab unity and regained hope in the Arab world's ability to change and to overcome tyrants.

In the final analysis, no matter to what extent the tyrants become arrogant and despise the masses, they will fall. The 7 November movement came as a new star in North Africa, a new dawn rose over North Africa and the Arab region, and not only over Tunisia, which bodes well for unity. It regains brotherhood and rebuilds that which was destroyed by the regionalists, the hirelings of colonialism, the sanguinaries. These have now been placed by the 7 November movement into the trashcans of history—no one is sorry about that—in the same way the Sudanese people put Numayri and his era into the trashcans of history, to be followed by curses; in same way the Egyptian people put the treasonous hireling Al-Sadat into the trashcan of history, without regrets; in the same way the Libyan people put Al-Sanusi into the trashcan of history without regrets.

Our people are now treading over the tyrants, moving forward, and consolidating their confidence in their ability to build their own life. All this after prolonged colonialism, injustice, and the long darkness that has begun to steadily erode in the face of the shocks that have been delivered by free men and revolutionaries to the forces of darkness, injustice, regionalism, and betrayal. The thrones have begun to collapse in the face of the shocks delivered by the revolutionaries. The regionalists; those entrenched behind artificial borders; those clinging to the legs of the colonialists, kissing and licking them without shame, have begun to fall, to be placed in the trashcans of history, one after another, in the face of our revolutionaries and the march of our peoples, which will continue until Arab unity is achieved—God willing—and liberation is accomplished.

Therefore, brother workers, in short, I am telling you—workers from international and regional organizations, and the rest of the international community present here today—we must be determined to launch a real labor revolution which will free us from the vicious circle and from the system of wages, so that workers become partners and not wage earners. We should burn the damned U.S. dollar and substitute it temporarily with the barter system. We should fight off profit-making, because profit-making is the disease that weakens and gives rise to all these consequences. We should work toward satisfying our needs, not towards profit-making.

What is surprising is that this rule is stipulated by Islam, which is a religion that speaks about the supernatural, fusion, and metaphysics. However, Islam emphasizes and reiterates the following point: One's goal in life should be targeted toward satisfying one's needs, and not toward profit-making. Those who accumulate wealth and fortune will go to hell, as God promised. The importance of this lies in the fact that even the Koran, which speaks about the supernatural, draws mankind's attention to the fact that life's goal is to satisfy one's needs, and not to make a profit. The detailed and meticulous economic theories agree with Islam in this issue.

We are discussing economics. Suddenly we find ourselves quoting a Koranic verse. I am presenting an economic analysis, yet I find myself quoting the Koran, even though this is not a religious gathering. We should fight off profit-making. We should work toward satisfying our needs. What is more, we should abolish capital speculation; we should work toward trading through production; investment should be through production and not through capital speculation. These are the key points that we should follow if we want an international radical economic solution. We should abolish the dollar, barter [as heard], profit-making, capital speculation, and trading. Trading should be based on production. Workers should become partners instead of wage earners. Man should reap his right and the fruit of his efforts. Man should decide his own destiny. These are the things that could change our history.

We should leave this gathering with a result that affects our lives. These festivities should not be like the rest of the festivities in the world, where world trade unions and foreign delegations are invited to watch parades and entertainment and to applaud and chant slogans. At the end of the day they gain nothing from their presence at those festivities. We should achieve a result from this gathering. Today's meeting is a historic and very serious meeting with regard to mankind's destiny. It will change the course of world events and will affect the overwhelming majority, which is the proletariat. It will affect their life.

At last the proletariat have in front of them useful propositions which would put an end to the vicious circle composed of slaves, serfs, wage earners, and so forth. The system of partnership should be established.

We must admit that the World Bank and the IMF have greatly contributed to inflicting enormous damage to developing peoples. The World Bank and the IMF are under U.S. control as a result of great contributions—on paper—by the United States. Consequently, it has turned the World Bank and the IMF into an instrument of imperialist colonialism, through which it brings anyone it wants to his knees. This is the reason for the high cost of living for many people. It was the World Bank and the IMF which made the Sudanese people hungry during Numayri's era, in accordance with U.S. policy, because Numayri submitted to the demands and conditions of the World Bank and the IMF, and because the United States wanted to bring the Sudanese people to their knees. Fortunately the victim was Numayri— the U.S. agent whom the United States wanted to protect with these measures.

Tunisia, without 7 November, would have been brought to its knees. It reached a point at which the bread revolution broke out. People were demanding bread, but there was no bread, because the World Bank and the IMF imposed conditions on Tunisia, leaving it with no alternative but to face hunger, [word indistinct], and begging.

Egypt is now completely burdened by the conditions of the World Bank and the IMF. This is in accordance with U.S. imperialist policy, which intends to bring Egypt to its knees and to make it hungry so that it will become an obedient tool in U.S. hands. Now, if the United States tells Egypt to turn left, it turns; turn right, it turns; stop, it stops. Curse the devil and retreat. This, as our Muslim brothers say, means they curse the devil and retreat until you get orders from the United States. It mocks our Muslim brothers, who say: curse the devil and retreat.

On this occasion, brothers, we repeat the call to our Palestinian people to continue setting up revolutionary committees to resist the occupation, for the revolution to continue until it spreads to the land occupied and usurped in 1948, and until the popular revolution spreads between the river and the sea, and until liberation is achieved.

We urge the Lebanese people, who are experiencing a political crisis, and whose dearest sons have been killed by racist, sacterian criminals, to set up revolutionary committees everywhere to administer Lebanon. The secretaries of these committees would meet at the level of a general people's committee, which would run Lebanon without being influenced by sectarianism. If we want to destroy the intrigues of sectarianism, we must face up to the idiotic humbug and ridiculous sectarian pretexts which stipulate that no Lebanese can stand as nominee for president unless he is a Maronite sect member. This ridicule must end, and as of tomorrow every Muslim must propose himself to the Chamber of Deputies as a nominee for the leadership of his country and people. He is free and must stamp on sectarianism with his boots. What is this injustice?"

I am an Arab, and I regard all Arabs as my brothers. I have revolutionary and historical responsibilities. I do not distinguish between a Muslim and a Christian, or an Arab and a non-Arab. I lead an international, internationalist, and mass revolution for all the masses, so that freedom and justice will triumph in the world, so that darkness will lift and oppression, exploitation, imperialism, and wars will end. I consider the Lebanese Christian to be an Arab who has embraced Christianity. This is a historical mistake which may be [word indistinct] by future generations. However, speaking as a Sunni Muslim, I ask: What is this injustice? Why is the Sunni in Lebanon a second and third class citizen, while constituting a majority? Arabs of Wadi Khalid are Muslims without citizenship. Consequently, I asked the People's Foreign Liaison Bureau to grant citizenship and passports to all the Arabs of Wadi Khalid, in Lebanon—Libyan passports. A whole group of Arabs living in Al-Biq'a, the Arabs of Wadi Khalid, who have no citizenship.

They cannot travel in the world, they do not know the world, they do not possess passports; they are not Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians, Turkish, and so forth. What is this? These are the Arabs of Wadi Khalid. If they are

given a nationality, the Muslims will be in the majority. What is this mockery? Of course, I am addressing a new generation in Lebanon, the generation which is waging the revolution of the stones in Palestine, the generation which has surprised everyone and which has compelled everyone to bow to it. A new generation of Christians and Muslims will emerge in Lebanon to eliminate sectarianism and will make everybody bow before it. This new generation is called upon to form people's committees, revolutionary committees, and people's congresses, and to abolish sectarianism.

Imagine an entire people, an entire group of people living in Wadi Khalid in the Al-Biq'a with no identity, only to prevent an increase in the number of Muslims.

How is it, Muslim brethren, that the United States or France talks about the Christians in Lebanon? First, they are Arabs. The United States and France have no right to talk about them. These despicable colonialists must keep their mouths shut. But in the end, even if I were a Maronite Christian, or even if I were a Shi'ite or from any Muslim sect, I would have to ask: Why is the Muslim in Lebanon a second-class citizen, why can't he be a candidate for the presidency of the republic? His country is not really his country. If the Muslims in Lebanon are not recognized as Lebanese, let them come to Libya. Tomorrow we will send them the boats to bring them to Libya. They are welcome. If Lebanon is the country of the Christians alone, let it be so.

Are we in an era of Christians, Muslims, Shi'ites, or Sunnis, or in the era of the Arab nation, Arab unity, and a new internationalism and a world anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, and antiracist popular front? What is this nonsense? Even if I were from another sect, I would have to side with the Sunni sect, because it is oppressed. The Sunnis cannot be candidates (?for the presidency). Aren't some of them dying for the Muslims? Who is fighting the enemy? Who is fighting the Israelis, the Americans, and the French? It is in fact the Muslims and the Sunnis, as well as the Shi'ites. What class is given to the Shi'ites? Maybe the third or the fourth class. Yet it is they who die against the Israelis in southern Lebanon. It is a only a sect called Shi'ite. What does it mean? It means it sided with Ali ibn Abi Talib [Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law]. That is enough; it was a story, and it is over now. We are all Arabs. Why the divisions into Druze, Shi'ite, Sunni, and Maronite?

Furthermore, if you are a Muslim, you are not entitled to be a candidate. Why? Does the Muslim stay 5 months in his mother's womb and the Christian 6? Or is it because one was born to a human being and the other to a dog? What is this nonsense? I call upon all the Muslims in Lebanon to go to the Lebanese parliament and submit their candidacy for the presidency of the republic. Let it be a mess. Indeed, the whole operation is a mess. The revolutionary forces and all the masses in Lebanon are called upon to form people's committees to transcend the parliament, the cabinet, the presidency, the Ba'abda

Palace, and also the lies, inanities, and follies, and to form the people's committees, and ensure the establishment of the system of the masses. Let the people's committees run Lebanon, without division, and let them meet at the national level in Lebanon as general people's committees. This is the appeal we are making to them.

We made the appeal to the people of Burma, and the following day people's committees were formed. Now people's committees are being effectively set up in Burma, at the extreme end of Asia. We also made the appeal to Bangladesh and Pakistan. We make it to all peoples because the solution lies in the peoples' determining their fate on their own, without a government, without a party, and without a parliament. Then the deceit will end.

Dear brothers, today, at this international commemoration of the world's workers, who are represented here by their confederations, trade unions, and delegations, I would like to give a special welcome to the delegation of the Confederation of Workers in sister Chad. Its presence demonstrates that the colonial policy, based on dividing to rule, has been defeated by the Libyan and Chadian people. The Chadian workers are celebrating with their Libyan brothers, who have become partners and not wage earners.

We greet them, the workers of Chad and the fraternal Chadian people. We emphasize to them that we extend them a hand of help and assistance. They should give opportunities [as heard] to the colonialists, the French and Americans, who are invaders that want nothing but to destroy Africa and create problems there. They are responsible for the backwardness in Africa and for robbing Africa of its wealth. They are responsible for all the problems from which Africa suffers, especially the problems of borders. They are the ones who created these artificial borders, so that Africa may remain to fight itself and burn in endless border wars, while the colonialists are laughing.

They are the ones who at one time gave Aozou to France; at another time France gave Aozou to Italy. They play with Ounianga and Gourou. They give the Ounianga and Gourou to Libya, and they give Aozou to Chad. After that it occurs to them to change. They give Aozou to Libya and then return the Ounianga and Gourou strip to Chad. See how they play, and we fall for it, and fight each other over a rock and a desert, which has neither plants nor [word indistinct]. However, the will of the Libyan and Chadian peoples and the will of Africa should triumph over the will of French and American colonialists who have exploited us and divided us among ourselves. The common enemy is colonialism, Zionism, racism, and the backwardness which they want to prolong.

Brothers, on this great day we are celebrating an international workers' event. Beginning tomorrow we will begin to build a new state, to be built directly by Libyans—males and females equally—security, the public prosecutor's

office, the courts, the popular committees, the people's congresses, national defense, the Jamahiri Guards, the revolutionary guards, the revolutionary committees, and the places of production in industry, agriculture, and the services. Tomorrow, the building of the ivory tower state of the masses begins, a state in which I will be proud if every individual becomes an ivory tower in that he attains his prosperity on his own, with his own effort, and from his own land, without eating illegitimately, eating the right of another, exploiting the effort of another, and sucking his blood.

This international workers festival concludes the series of great celebrations marking the great historical revolution, the Al-Fatih Revolution, which opened a new way for humanity and presented a directory, in the form of the Green Book, to the peoples who are fighting for final deliverance from repression, exploitation, and every instrument of rule. Brothers, all Libyans with every confidence, whether at home or abroad, should participate with every sincerity in building his country and in building the Jamahiriyah. Every Libyan abroad is free. If he wants to remain abroad, he is free to do so. If he remains abroad, then that is evidence that he is free. He is also free to come here to contribute with his brothers, for this is his land. As for the one who does not want to return and does not want to clap for the liberation of his country, he is a slave, and must be owned and controlled by U.S. and Israeli intelligence, which have turned him into a puppet and a donkey on which to ride. The matter will become clear. The pure will return. The one who cannot return must be controlled by U.S. and Israeli intelligence. To hell with him, with U.S. intelligence, with the United States, with Israeli intelligence, and with all the forces of colonialism, reaction, and evil.

Brothers, we turn with every confidence to the building of a Greater Arab Maghreb as a step toward the accomplishment of total Arab unity, from the ocean to the Gulf. The great Arab nation is turning, with the building of its own unity, toward the achievement of African unity in order to rid this great continent of the remnants, traces, and hegemony of colonialism, and to rid it of racial discrimination and the regime of racial segregation. The Arab nation is turning, along with the African continent, to contribute toward building a new world civilization based upon justice, peace, and brotherhood.

Brothers, we will shape the future of the world. We are confident in ourselves and are turning with every determination toward the building of a new era, the honor of which will belong to this country, which has laid its foundation stone and produced this revolution. We do not care about the analyses of the stupid and the ignorant who are fishing in murky waters and who would not accept us unless we followed them. To them we only say: To hell. We consider them as dogs who bark while the caravan proceeds.

Finally, we greet the brave ones who were prepared to sacrifice their souls on the eve of 1 September 1969 and created this historical revolution—officers, soldiers, and noncommissioned officers; those who were not afraid of five U.S. bases, and surrounded them with their rifles and machineguns. They were not afraid of Britain's

colony, Tubruq, in its entirety. This was the case in Malta and Cyprus, which enabled Britain to intervene rapidly on Libyan soil without permission. They were not afraid of the Italian colonial settlers, who controlled our capital Tripoli with 20,000 colonialists, who merely took off their military uniforms and put on civilian clothes in order to deceive us.

They were not afraid of the crown, the Al-Sanusi throne, which was in a deep sleep, dependent upon the United States which protected it with large bases and the most advanced military facilities. The Al-Sanusi throne embedded its head in the British bases and its legs in the U.S. bases, while it covered itself with the colonialist settlers, reactionaries, and the police, thinking that it was secure. But it did not take account of the determination of the people; it did not take account of those whose fathers and grandfathers sacrificed themselves for the sake of dear Libya, and for the sake of Arabism and Islam. They would never allow the United States to remain with its bases on the soil that was watered with the blood of the dear bodies of our grandfathers. They would not allow Britain to remain, occupying a dear part of our homeland, nor the colonialist settlers, who fought our fathers and grandfathers, who in turn were martyred while fighting them.

The colonialists rejoiced after World War II, in thinking that the allies had won a brilliant victory, that the old colonies had returned to the allies, and that these peoples would remain in their grip forever. They were deceived and disgraced; they did not take into account other peoples. Even now the United States sends aircraft carriers and dozens of naval units of the U.S.-Israel 6th Fleet to the beloved Alexandria. The United States dumps nuclear waste and bombs on the beloved Arab Egyptian soil. But the United States and its allies do not take into account the determination of the Egyptian people, who have destroyed tyrants, destroyed empires, and defeated oppressors. The Egyptian people will rebel, as the Sudanese people rebelled, smashing Sudan's dummy and defeating the United States, which had bases on the beloved Sudanese soil.

The Sudanese people today extend their hand—the Sudanese delegation participating today in our festivities has presented a unionist proposal between Sudan and Libya, so that it would be a link between the center of the Arab nation and the Maghreb. Here is the steadfast Syria [as heard] presenting a unionist proposal to link the Middle East to the Maghreb.

Therefore, brothers, this nation will win. This nation does not forget the numerous victims it has sacrificed. The Algerian people cannot forget 1.5 million martyrs. The Arab nation cannot forget 1.5 million martyrs sacrificed in Algeria. Brothers, we cannot forget the martyrs who died on Palestinian soil. Throughout our beloved Arab nation we have sacrificed things dear to us—souls, pure blood. The dearest and bravest men of this nation sacrificed their lives. These sacrifices, brothers, cannot go in vain. These sacrifices, brothers, will

always be with us. We will remain faithful and loyal until the last drop of our blood and until the last minute of our lives. We will remain loyal to the martyrs of our nation and to the sacrifices of our fathers and forefathers. With this determination, we will win. Colonialism will be defeated, Zionism will be defeated by struggle and action, by changing the reality, by presenting a revolutionary plan that might change the reality, and not through heated speeches or words. We are facing the enemy with men, arms, high morale, and with our unshakable belief in our right to live in dignity, and with pride in the land of our ancestors and fathers.

Brothers, we will win. Death to the United States; death to Israel; death to racist South Africa. Victory to the peoples fighting for freedom and peace. Brothers, the struggle continues. [applause and slogans]

Palestinian Factions Consult, Agree on Unity
LD0309165288 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic
1600 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] JANA has learned that the unionist consultations between the brother leaders of the factions of the Palestinian revolution were concluded in Tripoli yesterday under the aegis of the brother leader of the revolution. JANA has also learned that these leaders have agreed on a formula of terms which they are going to propose to Brother Yasir 'Arafat as the bases on which they would accept the unification of the Palestinian factions. The great Jamahiriyah will play a mediatory role between these factions.

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives PLO's Yasir 'Arafat
LD0309191688 Tripoli JANA in English 1806 GMT
3 Sep 88

[Text] Tripoli, Al-Fatih 3, JAMAHIRYA NEWS AGENCY—The leader of the revolution received Yasir 'Arafat who attended the celebration of the 19th anniversary of the Great Al-Fatih Revolution.

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Algeria's Messaadia
LD0309200188 Tripoli JANA in English 1807 GMT
3 Sep 88

[Text] Tripoli, Al-Fatih 3, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—The leader of the revolution received Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, the member of the Algerian FLN Party Politburo and the responsible for the permanent secretariat of the Central Committee, and the delegation in his company who attended the festivities marking the 19th anniversary of the Great Al-Fatih Revolution and the 10th anniversary of the producers revolution.